settlements on the east bank and along the lower reaches of the Sobat. Their country is treeless savannah but, unlike their cousins the Nuer and Dinka, they are predominantly agricultural and sedentary, for their long river frontage gives them adequate water and grazing in the dry season for the comparatively few cattle (about 25,000) they possess.[1] The brief account I give of their social structure is mostly derived from articles in *Sudan Notes and Records* by Mr Pumphrey and Mr Howell.[2]

The hamlets (*myer*, sing. *pac*), built from 100 yards to a mile or so apart on high ground parallel to the river, vary in size from one to fifty homesteads; a homestead (*gol*), the residence of a family (*gol*), consisting usually of two huts encircled by a fence. Each hamlet is occupied by members of an extended family, or small lineage, with their wives, and the homesteads of this group are arranged in a rough horseshoe shape around a common cattle-byre, which shelters the animals in the rains and is used as a club at all seasons, and a common kraal. The headman of a hamlet (*jal dwong pac*) who is also the head of a lineage in

[1] I am indebted to Mr John Donald of the Sudan Political Service for the most recent figures of human and bovine population.

[2] M. E. C. Pumphrey, 'The Shilluk Tribe', *S.N. and R.* (1941); P. P. Howell, 'The Shilluk Settlement', *ibid.* (1941).

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F723 Sh2Sub F723

the hottest month of the year. June to September constitutes the rainy season, and from October to December the larger part of the country is flooded with water, but the marshes and smaller Khors[1] all day up by April. From November to April the climate is not unhealthy for Europeans. During the wet season complaints are numerous. Malaria and black water fever are the diseases most dangerous to white people.

The country is a plain with only inconsiderable elevations, on which the villages of the natives are built. The soil is black and fertile near the river and the khors, look from the water courses it is in most places paved, sometimes sandy. SOIL

The chief vegetation is high grass, interspersed with shrubs. A light forest of VEGETATION
mimosa trees is found mainly along the Nile. The acacia is the chief representative of the tree-form: baglig (Balanites aegyptiaca), seyal-acacia (Acacia seyal), Talh (Acacia Senegal), different kinds of gum-acacias, etc. A characteristic feature of the landscape are groups of dolaib- and doum-palms (Borassus flabellifer and Hyphaene Thebaica); a beautiful tree is the mahogany tree (Khaya senegalensis); it is most useful as timber, but seems to be rather rare in the Shilluk country; other notable trees are: different kinds of Ficus (Sycomore fig), the sebakh tree (Tamarindus indicus), nabeg (a fruit tree) etc. The vegetation on the river is most luxuriant. Though this is not the region of the swamp, yet the river is at most times largely covered with single plants and swimming islands, formed of papyrus, sudsuch (Herminiera Elaphroxylon), several kinds of weeds, lotus, Umm Sof (Vossia procera), Pistiaceae, Ottelia, and many others. The floating vegetation often narrow birds for a fishing place. Trees are much hampered in their growth by the fires which the natives light while the grass is dry; the reasons for burning the grass is to hunt up game, and to get the ground cleared for cultivation.

The country being thickly populated, game is not very numerous. But at ANIMALS
some distance from the settlements large animals are still frequent, chiefly near the river towards Lake No; the neighborhood of Kaka and north of it are also rich in game. Elephants, giraffes, buffaloes are met with, though not very frequently; antelopes and gazelles abound: bushbuck (Tragelaphus scriptus), reedbuck (Cervicapra bohor), white-eared cob (Cobus leucotis), ariel (Gazella soemmeringi), dorcas (G. dorcas), isabelline gazelle (G. isabella), oryx, waterbuck (Cobus defassa), Mrs. Gray's waterbuck (Cobus maria), gazelle rubifrons, roan antelope (Hippotragus equinus bakeri), hartebeest (Bubalis jacksoni), tiang or Beatrix Hartebeest (Damaliscus tiang), Ourébi antelope (Ourebia) etc. Of the carnivorous family the most notable are: lion, leopard, jackal, hyena, fox, Zorilla (a little black-and-white animal resembling the American skunk),

[1] Khor (Arab) = water course drying up in the rainless season.

3:Westermann E-9 (1910) 1912 F323 Shilluk F323

342. circumference of the finished wall. About two feet inside the mouth are set forked stakes about two feet high and four feet apart. The rafter poles are now placed with heavy end in mouth and resting in the forks of these poles, their tops are brought together and securely tied. The heavy grass bands are now fastened both above and under the poles at regular distances from bottom to top of roof. Corn stalks or cane are woven in between the bands and poles thickly. The roof now has its final conical shape. The roof is ready to be raised and is picked up and placed evenly upon the wall. A layer of mud is then put over the lower end of the rafter poles, to keep it firmly in place. The first work in thatching is to put on what the Shilluk call the apron of the house. A short layer of grass is put around the top of the wall and tied securely to the thatching. The thatcher then starts his course straight up the roof and works around the house, finishing the entire length of the roof as he goes around. The grass is tossed up to him in small bundles, which he places in position covered at a time and removes the bands and ties them down tightly. With a paddle shaped stick he evens up the ends of the grass, so that when the roof is finished nothing but the last ends of the grass are exposed, and these lie as evenly as though they had been laid separately by hand. At the top the grass is brought together like a spire and wrapped with rope and rope bands. The grass lies on the roof from six inches to a foot thick, and if kept free from white ants, will last for five or six years.

2. Different kinds of Soil.

139 123

lɔ́k	black, rich earth	*ámɔ́ɔ*	brownish earth as found on river banks, used for making pots
bɛ́ŋ́ŋ́	sandy ground	*ákɔ́l*	red sand
ámɔ́ɔ	red earth as found on river banks, used for making pots	*ápíít*	sand, dust.

3. Field-produce.

241 124

kyɛ́	dura	*ábwɔ́l*	an eatable gourd
ákwɔ́	sesame	*ákyɔ*	a gourd for calabashes, not eatable
ákɔ́ɔ	beans	*ámɔ́ŋ́ŋ́*	melon
bɛ́ɲ́ɔ́	cotton	*ámbɔ*	tobacco
bɛ́ŋ́	a small, sweet gourd, is eaten.	*ákwɔ́*	maize.

4. Different kinds of duras.

The common name: *kyɛ́l*. The common name for white dura: *kyɛ́ɲ́*.

3:Westermann E-6 (2910) 1912 F323 Shilluk F323

Kinds of white durra.

ŋil is very long in ripening. *ɔlwiŋ* maize.
ɔdɔ has a longer ear than *ŋil*. *ɔbɔ* Durha (grain grass).
ɔbɔŋkɔ "finger", has four ears, which stand upright like the fingers of the hand.

ŋɔ-ŋɔn, ɔbɔŋ, ɔŋɔnɔŋ, ɔŋɔr ŋɔpɔ ("kills the elephant"), *ɔŋɔŋ, ɔbil, ɔlɔk-mɔrɔ, ɔ-ɔmɔŋ, ɔwɔŋ, ɔŋɔŋɔnɔ, ɔbɔrɔ, ɔbɔl.*

The stalks of many of the white durras are sucked like sugar cane.

Kinds of red durra.

The common name for red durra is: *kwɔŋ*.

ŋɔrɔ, ɔ-ŋɔl-ŋɔ-ŋɔnɔ, ɔ-ŋɔl-ŋɔ-ɔmɔŋ, ŋɔpɔ ("the Nubians"?), *ɔwɔŋ-ŋɔn-ɔbɔn, ɔdɔnɔ, ŋɔ, ɔŋɔŋ, ɔwɔrɔ, ɔ-ŋɔŋɔnɔ, ɔbɔnɔ, bɔrɔ* ("of the white man"), *ɔbwɔŋɔ, ɔwɔŋ, ɔdɔ* ("lion's eye") *ɔdɔ-ŋɔl* ("cow's eye") *ɔɔrɔ, ɔɔrɔŋ, ɔ-ŋɔnɔ-bwɔŋ, ɔɔrɔ, ɔ-ŋɔŋɔ-ŋɔ, ŋɔŋɔ-ŋɔnɔ* ("sheep tail"), *ŋɔŋɔŋɔnɔ* ("horse tail"), *ɔŋɔŋ, ɔbɔŋ.*

Agriculture Among The Shilluk.[1]

By R. W. Titrick, of Duhoh Hill.

The Shilluk have hardly begun their agricultural life. Scarcely one half century ago they were purely a pastoral people. Only within the last decades has his lordship, the Shilluk man, begun to assume the burden of providing for his family. In those earlier days the task of tilling the small patch of ground planted annually in durra fell to the women. Her hoe was made from the shoulder blade of a giraffe or buffalo, or sometimes from the shin or rib bones of those animals.

Boys tended the large herds and flocks, young warriors danced, went on the chase and raid. The old men killed their time away in the village.

But they say the cattle plagues became more prevalent. The Turk and Arab came and took away not only slaves, but cattle, and so necessity forced the Shilluk to a larger village of the ground.

The change came naturally first in the northern end of their territory, where they came earliest in contact with the murderers and plunderers from down the Nile.

One man when questioned as to the food of the people in his boyhood days said: "We used to eat grass like cattle". There was as much truth as sarcasm in this statement. For even yet when the crop fails, the Shilluk women gather grass seed from the swamps and plains. They rob the nests of their winter's provision of seeds. A little sugar is obtained by bruising and boiling a certain reed, which grows in the swamp.

[1] i. e. Shilluks.

J. Westermann E-9 (1910) 192 F223 Shilluk F223

The Shilluk has not yet learned to grow a very large variety of plants. His one main crop is dura, the kaffir corn of America.

All planting except tobacco, which is planted in small plots on the river bank during the dry season and watered by sprinkling the ground from a water jar, is done in the beginning of the rainy season.

A small amount of Indian corn is grown, most of which is eaten when in hard roasting ear. With the dura they plant a few beans, pumpkins, squashes, sesame and occasionally peanuts. No fruits of any kind are grown, and as there are no wild fruits worthy the name, the Shilluk has never known fruit until he has recently seen it in our gardens or at the government stations.

The Shilluk plants his dura in the same field year after year, until his crop fails once or twice. Then he hunts for a piece of high, dry ground, preferably in the timber, for his early dura, and a low plain growing a certain rank wild grass for his late variety. He clears off the timber and digs up the grass for his new field which he tills, till another failure comes; if by that time his former field is growing of grass, he will return to its tillage.

His methods of farming are extremely crude, but in some respects accomplish good results. He has neither plough nor spade and never uses the mattock except to dig up the grass and bushes from new ground.

He prepares his ground by raking up the old rubbish into piles with a dainth palm limb and burning them.

As soon as the rainy season opens and sufficient rain has fallen to soften the ground, he puts his seed to soak over night, so it will sprout the quicker, and thus more likely escape being eaten by white ants. With a long slender pole which has one end shaped like the bowl of a spoon, he opens up the ground, and drops in the seeds. As he steps forward to make another hole, he presses down the earth over the seed with his foot. The hills are made promiscuously, but are usually some eighteen inches apart in all directions. He plants a large number of seeds in a hill, and later thins out and transplants where hills are missing.

Often he has to replant, for there are many enemies of the sprouting grain. Some years pests of rats devour it, even after it is several inches high. The golden-crested crane also pulls up much of the grain as it comes through the ground. And as before mentioned the white ant destroys the grain in the ground unless it sprouts quickly. But under normal conditions the grain comes up very soon after planting. And the warm rains and tropical sun cause the crop to shoot up like Johnnie's bean pole. Weeds come on quickly too, and so the Shilluk begins hoeing his fields at once. It is the only real cultivation he does. His hoe is either a thin circular or rectangular piece of iron with a short wooden handle.

3:Weetermann E-5 G[illegible] 1912 F323 Shilluk F323

wooden handle. The hoer sits or
to be chosen, and reaching the g
surface with the hoe. Shaking the
them into piles, leaving the good
cultivation, suitable for this soil an
the yield for the amount of ground

The holcus corn grown by the
running one a fortnight before t
before any grain is harvested a sm
and women go to the various fie
ripening ears of corn and heads
of the village. Some is later take
plastered on the side of the enclo
some put on the door of their cot
When the dura is ready for harvest
shell and heaped upon a mat
two feet above the ground. After
visits by the men and winnowed
whom it is stored in large barrel sh
of the large basket granary is coat
about the small huts and resting
ground bears the weight of the fil
free from rats.

There are very many varieties
thirty-two varieties. It is probable t
names in different localities.

Dura is eaten in a variety of wa
on the fire and roasted. It is often
A great deal is made into a mild be
popular way of cooking it is to gr
mush and eat it with milk, or coo
with beans, and sesame is often a
made.

The Shilluk retains all of his pastor
above all else. His sheep are very
wool ought to grow. His goats are
His cows are also generally poor in
in beef conformation. They belong t
the hump on the withers.

or ground or square on one knee or both, 241
e with two hand cuts it off just under the
ers from the roots of the weeds he throws
d clean and smooth. It is a good surface
climate, and when the season is favorable,
illed is very good.

holbus is a small early variety, which is in 243
early dura is ready for parching. But
of first fruits' sacrifice is made, an old man
of the village and being in some of the
dura, and place them by the sacred house
and ground and mixed with water and
bki, the rest is taken by the people and
room, and some is carefully tied up within
d, the heads are cut off short with a clam [247]
of poles resting upon forked posts about
ing a mouth it is flailed out with heavy [251]
the women and carried to the village,
ed bins made of coarse grass. The bottom
grass band wrapped with rope is formed
the forks of short stakes driven in the
basket and keeps it off the ground and

dura. One man gave me the names of
never that the same variety has different

The earliest heads are simply thrown 252
ously boiled till softened and eaten so.
and used as a regular food diet. The
d into a fine meal and cook it into a
it up with meat. It is sometimes boiled
ea with it. A sort of dura bread is also

instincts and prizes his flocks and herds 233
erior in size and have no wool where
mall and few are good milk producers.
ilking qualities, but are fair in size and
the Indian breed of cattle, which have

3.Westermann E-9 (1910) 1912 F323 Shilluk F323

233 [242] Tribal custom forbids the Shilluk from riding upon a donkey, so he never possesses one. Cattle are never used for draught or carrying purposes, so he has no beasts of burden, and perhaps never will as long as women are plentiful.

231 [240] The villages are full of hunting dogs. Unlike the Nuers and most of the Dinkas the Shilluk rears chickens. They are a degenerate Mediterranean strain. Eggs are eaten only by women and children.

Animal life must be well guarded and carefully looked at night most of the year. If an animal loiters on the river bank it most likely becomes the food of a crocodile. If one strays off into the woods it probably becomes the prey of a lyena, leopard or lion. Myriads of flies and numerous varieties of ticks also prey upon the flocks and herds, tormenting them by night as well as by day, and transmit the germs of various diseases also. Tsetse or tick fever is nearly always present, and a trypanosome not so fatal as the one of dreaded tsetse fly is also prevalent. The plague is a frequent visitor too and the mouth and foot diseases often attack the cattle toward the close of the dry season. The annual loss from all these enemies of animal life is very heavy, but as no females, unless barren, are ever killed for food or sold, and grass is plentiful, on the whole there is no increase in the number of live stock raised.

• 241 [250] 177] As to the possibilities of agriculture in the Shilluk land obstacles to be overcome have been mentioned. What the mission has done shows that many varieties of fruits and a considerable number of vegetables may be grown. Future generations may have lumber, if the right varieties of forest trees are planted. Cotton is not a sure rain crop, but with irrigation it has few enemies. Sugar-cane and rice can be grown in favorable places. The soil of this part of the Sudan is not generally deep, is deficient in nitrogen and very poor in humus. Nitrogen may be restored with legumes, but the humus problem is difficult, for the white ants devour very quickly all manure, mulch etc. spread upon the ground.

243 The Shilluk in sticking to the one main crop of dura has after all adopted the grain which is naturally adapted to the soil and climate and yields best to his methods of farming.

5. Foods and food-stuffs.

262.

kwjo a kind of dura-bread or mush.	*kdjij* a food of dura (prepared after Arab fashion).
kdjij a food of dura.	*ngwongo* a food of dura with fat, eaten without anything else.
kpdjij a food of dura.	*ngdddjij* a common dura-food.
kwdjo a food of dura (prepared after Arab fashion).	

The Shillah, owing to their geographical conditions, are more endowing than the other Silesia tribes, and there is no great intermarriage among the others. They also are more intent on cultivation, have [illegible] being the chief crop. They own a shifting cultivation tendency a certain plot of land is cultivated from four to six years and then left for two to twelve years. An agricultural authority (3) on the Shallah said that "perhaps on a small crop basis is (is). But the Shillah as well as the other tribes, are good cultivators. The biggest crop of cotton is a twenty four pound cut [illegible] of two cotton, mainly from the Shillah land. It was abandoned and Farmer began to take an important because the country recognise a fairly large amount of income all."

[illegible] countries, to the latest census available there are about 8%, see Shillah (5).

Anthropometric

During my stay in the Shillah land I took [illegible] anthropometric measurements on sixty persons - 34 men, 11 of them are members of the Shillah royal family, and 6 women, one of them is also royal. The persons were all measured at selected [illegible], but they are from different parts of the Shillah country the chief one from north to south. Actually I took a greater percentage of people representing the central area, i.e. around Kolubia, and the percentage decreases centrally as [illegible]. Here is a list of the [illegible] and anthropometric to which my subjects belong:

Shillah, Nuer, Dinka (Bieh dialect), Lango, Alur, Jaluo (parts of Sudan), Acholi, Kakwa, Lulu, Pojulu, Mundu (all Shillah tribe customs and), Moru, Madi (i.e. Kakwa), Otogo-Aka (various kind), Bongo, Baraimbo, Kumam, Pokot, Kytosyet, Suro, Tenga, Lotuk and Kijipot.

I have taken the following measurements following the points described and defined in "Notes and Queries in Anthropology." (1)

Head length and breadth, nose height and breadth, facial and upper facial heights, stature and sitting height. On 8 of the men measured I measured also the maximal frontal breadth and the bizygomatic breadth.

The table I used was the sliding and spreading calipers, and the anthropometer.

The results of my measurements are mainly identical with those of Shallah [illegible] (6) in both nuptial and facial indices and stature, but there is a considerable difference in the nasal index which I am not able to explain.

Shillah (M)	71.3	93.9	81.8	177
Blue (M)	71.6	85.3	84.3	177.8

From the distribution of the physical characters in different parts of the Shillahland - 12 of the men measured by me are from Fuze (northern Shillah province), and 22 men are from Lwak (southern Shillah province) - we get a very schematic, though it is noticed that the Shillah are not a homogeneous people as far as nuptial index and stature are concerned.

S.Howell E-4.5 (1937, 1948) 1951 F111 Shilluk F111

An analysis of Shilluk marriages has shown that many cattle which should be retained for bridewealth to be used by the bride's male kinsmen are, in fact, frequently paid away as debts, or slaughtered, or sold to obtain cash in times of famine. This is perhaps natural among the Shilluk, who have to place greater reliance on an agricultural economy, but whose agricultural activities are no more productive or reliable than are those in other parts of the Nilotic area.[1]

Pumphrey goes on to say,

accordingly it seldom occurs that, owing to the death of all the original marriage cattle, the wife's relatives become interested in the breaking up of the marriage. Possibly as a safeguard against this very contingency the Shilluk have a custom which compels the bridegroom, during the first three or four years of his marriage, to replace by living cattle any of the original cattle he paid as bridewealth which may die in the interim.[2]

It is not clear, however, at what stage of marriage the bridegroom is absolved from this responsibility. Some Shilluk say that it no longer applies when the marriage is finally confirmed by the birth of a child and the bride's change of residence.

Pumphrey adds that:

It is a natural corollary of all this, that the property of the marriage cattle are not returned. The claim is for a roughly equivalent amount of cattle. This amount will vary according to the number of children borne to the man by the wife.[3]

The Legitimacy of Children

With regard to the legitimacy of children in case of divorce, we have that, 'the children born of the dissolved marriage are legitimate irrespective of the smallness of the cattle payments and of the fact that the marriage was short-lived'.[4] Pumphrey mentions, not here but later, that a certain number of cattle must remain with the wife's family if the co-husband is to retain legal parenthood of these children. If these deductions are not made, the children are automatically classed as slaves.

On this subject Pumphrey says,

If the wife had produced sufficient children to wipe off the whole bridewealth, the husband will be entitled to receive nothing upon the termination of the marriage, except that . . . if the marriage has been broken through his wife's bad behaviour the husband may be awarded the return of at least a part.[5]

My own investigations lead me to believe that this statement is incorrect, at any rate according to the principles of Shilluk law, for although a husband may be so exasperated by the conduct of his wife as to demand return of all his bridewealth cattle, he can only do so by waiving all legal rights in the children of the union, and he is unlikely to do this.

Among the Shilluk these questions arise principally in connexion with subsequent rights in the bridewealth cattle of a daughter. The question of matrilineal, impar-

[1] Crop production in Shilluk country is unreliable and erratic because the soil on the high ground in the immediate vicinity of the villages is exhausted, while the land in the hinterland is subject to flood owing to poor drainage.

[2] Pumphrey: unpublished records.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Pumphrey, op. cit., p. 96.

[5] Ibid., p. 95.

19: Cyler M-9 (ca. 1918) 1926 F 323 Skillick F 323

the animal carefully, and he made his escape, and ran away. It was too much trouble for them to catch the animal, and so they went back to the old chief and demanded that he give them another animal in exchange for the one that had escaped. The new animal was given to them, and they departed.

Once some women went to dance before a chief, who was away from home. One of his followers, anxious to save the property of his master, took a whip made of hippopotamus hide, and used it freely on the women. They retreated to a considerable distance, and sat down to discuss the matter. At that time the chief returned, and he was distressed when he heard what his follower had done. He made peace with the women, and gave them the ox.

Visitors from other villages are not supposed to go on these trips, nor are they allowed to eat of the meat when the animal is killed. When a woman is married and goes to the village of her husband, she is not allowed to go on these begging trips until after she has lived there a full year. The women might consent, but her husband would be angry, as it might lead to her being led astray. She does not have the right to return to her old home and go with her old friends on their begging expeditions. Women in the advanced stages of pregnancy are not permitted to go on these trips.

These dances are a great diversion for the women. They are looked upon as memorable occasions. The chief visited may not be in a financial position to afford to give the ox, and yet he gets full value for the animal in the prestige it gives him.

The women have another begging custom that is suggestive of Ruth. When a man threshes his grain he calls in the young men, who beat it out with flails. The women of the man's family winnow the grain. Often the man does not have enough women-folk to do all the work, and other women are called in to help. The helpers get all the grain that is left in the chaff as their portion.

Many women come to beg from the owner of the threshing floor. They do not speak to the owner of the floor, but they make a general statement that they have come to beg. They sit in silence, and watch the progress of the work. They do not ask for grain, but each woman keeps her gourd in a prominent position. When the threshing is finished, the owner of the field fills a basket with grain, and from that basket he

19: Oyloo 98-5 (on. 1918) 1926 F 323 Shillook F 323

fills the gourds belonging to the women. If the basket is not sufficient to fill all the gourds, and if the man is of a good disposition, he brings out enough more grain to fill them all. If the man is churlish he will say, "I have given you enough" and will refuse to give them any more than the one basket full. Sometimes a man will say, "Why do you make sport of me by coming here to beg? See, my grain is very little indeed." That is the line the man takes when he refuses altogether to give grain to the women.

If the women are pleased with the amount of grain that has been given them, they will bless the owner of the threshing floor. Each woman takes a few grains of the grain that has been given her, and sprinkles it on the threshing floor. As she sprinkles the grain she says, "I return you yours, I eat, and am satisfied." After such a blessing his crop the next year should be very abundant. Often the recipient will say, "I am a woman belonging to God. I am happy, because you have given to me, now I bless you."

It is an honour to have the women come to a man's floor to beg, as it implies that he is a rich man, and can supply them. However, it is often a hardship, and many of them can ill afford the grain they give away to the women. One man said that one year all the grain he raised was given to the women who begged from him, and the only way he got food for his family was by his wife's going out to other threshing floors, and begging from the owners of the floors. It is not unusual for a woman to go to a village at some distance and beg from all the men in the village. She may return with ten or more baskets of grain. Sometimes she is refused the grain that she seeks. The man who refuses to give from his threshing floor is considered a very mean man, and to make a good showing, they give more than they can afford.

Men sometimes go to the threshing floors to beg, but in that case the procedure is different. The man who begs gets a basket and, unbidden, helps carry the grain to the village. At the end of the threshing the owner is supposed to give him a basket of grain, but often he is given less than that. Both sides profit. The beggars have a picnic, and the man from whom they beg is highly honoured.

16: Caun G-5 (ca. 1928)1929 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

the depredations of hyenas, and the boys of from ten to fifteen years to clear up the standings of the cattle, collect the head ropes, and clean out the *luaks*.

By the time the boys have finished their duties the cattle are brought back to the village for milking, and the small boys leave with their herds of sheep and goats for pasture and are not seen again until nearly sunset.

Milking is accompanied by much grooming and cleaning of the cattle, and is one of the proudest hours of the Shilluk's life when he handles his beasts in view of the world.

At about 10.30 a.m. the cattle are driven to their dump pasture accompanied by an escort of fighting youths who are responsible for protection against wild beasts, reptiles and predatory human beings.

Cattle and sheep herding by day is the work of youths and boys, and is full-time employment from dawn to dusk—varied by a certain amount of fish-spearing as a recreation—so we will leave them to their duties and turn to the elder men to see to what extent the stigma of laziness applies to them.

At the time of writing the first rains have fallen, so every able-bodied man who is not engaged in cattle herding leaves for his cultivation area—which is generally at least three miles inland from the village—before dawn; this early start becomes of vital importance when the *dura* is first sown, as the guinea-fowl descend from the trees at dawn to consume the seed sown on the previous day, and the cultivator is thus unable to have his pot until after dusk, when these fowl have gone to roost.

Women bring food and water to the cultivator twice a day besides carrying out their ordinary household duties which we will now survey.

Shilluk villages for freedom from mosquitoes and other reasons are usually situated from one to three miles away from the Nile, and before dawn one or two women or girls from each house have to go to the river to fill all their available earthen pots and gourds with water for the use of the house before the men go away to work; the ordinary earthen vessel or *puk* when full weighs between thirty and forty pounds, and two or even three trips have to be made to the river daily to supply the needs of the home, so water carrying can only be done by the stronger women and girls;

16: Cann G-5 (ca. 1928) 1929 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Houses are swept out soon after dawn by elder women and small girls, and they are responsible for the collection of firewood for cooking purposes.

Very soon after the return of the water-carrying party the sound of dura pounding is heard on all sides, and this work and the preparation of native beer for the household goes on intermittently all day: the usual times for men being about 10 a.m. and 7 p.m., while the women snatch meals at odd hours.

At the time of writing every spare moment of the day is spent by the women in sowing the dura and maize crop around the village, the work proceeding steadily from dawn to dusk.

Even after dark the women have to finish the preparation and serve the evening meal to their men, and, as this is the main meal of the day, woe betide the wife who has not prepared it in time or to the satisfaction of her lord!

At about 5.30 p.m. the small boys return with the goats and sheep, and these—after having been re-united with their offspring—are turned into the *luels* for the night.

Then smoke fires are lighted in readiness for the cattle which are herded in at dusk, tied up with head ropes, and milked; these duties keep nearly all the men busy until after 7 p.m., soon after which the cultivators return from their labours.

Rather than call the Shilluk a lazy race, let us say that they understand the art of taking their ease restfully!

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

more practical purpose of tethering the cattle as towards sunset they come winding back from the pasture. In the hot months, if there is no danger from lions, they are left all night in the open and the byre is used as a dormitory by the boys and unmarried men of the village. It is the custom, too, for the unmarried girls to sleep together in vacant huts in the village, for the sleeping hut of a household is reserved for the householder and his wife and small children.

The rear part of the store hut is taken up by an enormous circular grain basket, four feet high and the same in diameter, standing clear of the floor on a wooden, three-legged stand and safe from the depredations of white ants. Whenever possible, cooking is done outside, but during the rains it is done over a fire of sticks or millet stalks burning in a hollow scooped out in the floor near the wall. A variety of pots clutters the floor space: the large earthenware water pot, an earthenware pot and a shallow iron dish for cooking, small beer pots, a number of drinking bowls made from the tough rinds of gourds neatly halved and dried in the sun. The roofing poles, resting on the mud walls and rising to an apex, form convenient places for tucking away household goods and personal treasures. Such an item one cannot fail to notice is that of several large heads of grain; these are stored for the next season's planting, and no matter how desperate the food situation may become, they will remain untouched, for the next year's supply of food depends on this stock of seed. Behind the poles also may be found a fragment of a mirror, a couple of cigarette tins holding a little oil or a handful of beads, a girl's blue dancing cloth or even the good wife's best Sunday frock, run up for her by the Sisters from some material brought from Kodok, probably some dreadful riot of green and red and yellow, hideous indeed to Western eyes, but to the proud owner more delightful than any Paris creation. Sometimes, to a visitor's distress, a line is slung across the hut on which hang dried fish or strips of meat. The high tone of these delicacies, the myriads of flies they attract and the thick, black smoke of the fire which, having no means of getting away, fills the hut, do not make

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

or Greek merchant and purchase one imported from England.

The most important and busiest months in the Shilluk year are those of the rainy season, from June to November. When the first rains fall, the villagers go out to prepare their fields for planting. The main plantations are generally at a considerable distance from the village, sometimes as much as ten miles inland; the small patches of maize and millet around the villages, usually cultivated by the women, are for a quick crop that can be used as soon as it is ripe. After the first few showers the grass is burnt and the ashes left to be washed into the soil. When enough rain has fallen to soften the ground, planting begins. There is no preliminary back-breaking hoeing or digging; the Shilluk would regard as crazy anyone who would suggest that such a thing was necessary or would improve the land. He would say that if the rains are good and all other circumstances favourable to growth, he will get enough grain to last him for the year, whereas if fortune is adverse, all the digging in the world will not fill his store basket. What was good enough for his fathers away back to the time of Nyikang is good enough for him; why should he try to improve on the wisdom of the ancients? If this particular patch was sufficient for his father and his father's father, why should he go to the trouble of clearing another? One of the Fathers in Lul, an expert and enthusiastic farmer, tried to convert the schoolboys to a better system of farming by showing them the benefits of digging and manuring the land. He divided an area of ground into two equal parts, planting one half according to the Shilluk and the other according to his own improved method; yet even the sight of the bumper crop that he obtained failed to impress the boys: it was not the Shilluk way of doing things and therefore not for them. And so, the husbandman with a sharp pointed stick removes a small divot from the unbroken surface, drops in a few millet seeds and pushes back the soil with his heel as he moves on. When the whole field has been sown in this manner, he is content to sit back and leave the rest to the beneficence of Nyikang,

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

241 but unfortunately for him, grass and weeds have a way of pushing up along with the grain and so, several times during the growing season he is forced to go out to his plantation and put in a day's weeding. If he is unduly industrious, he will plant beans, marrows, or pumpkins amongst the millet, and may even clear another patch and grow some maize; yet these are luxury crops—asparagus and strawberries, as it were—growing more quickly than millet and serving to fill up the lean time between the finishing up of one year's crop and the harvesting of the next.

The first month or so of the rainy season is a time of great anxiety as to whether the rains will be sufficient to sustain the growing crops. Sometimes the planting operation is attended with disappointments; a prolonged drought sets in and the young plants wither and die. A torrential downpour gives the husbandman new hope and out he goes to plant again, but this time one storm of rain after another washes the young shoots out of the ground. A third time he plants, and this time the fates are kind; the seed takes firm root and with constant and not too violent rain flourishes and gives promise of a good harvest; however by this time it is mid-July or even later, so that the crop will be late in ripening and he will be hungry before he can harvest it. The first crop
243 to be planted is red millet which grows and matures more quickly than the second variety, the white millet. If conditions are favourable the original sowing is firmly established by the end of July, and he proceeds to the planting of the second variety. This is more hardy when growing and more resistant in store to the depredations of ants and weevils, but it is ravaged by the myriad flocks of weaver birds which descend upon the ripening fields and by the animals of the forest which gorge upon the crops to such an extent that sometimes they kill themselves by going to drink immediately after filling their stomachs with the unripe grain.

The plants which survive the attacks of flood and drought, of insect, bird and beast grow to a height of eight to ten feet with stalks half an inch thick supporting the heavy oval-shaped heads of grain. The red millet is ready for harvest